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6 May 1982

West Europe Report

(FOUO 28/82)



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ECONOMIC

BELGIUM

JOURNAL ACCUSES USSR OF FRAUDULENT PIPE SALES

Brussels POURQUOI PAS? in French 28 Jan 82 pp 12-13

[Article by Steve Polus: "When Brezhnev Screws the Belgians"]

[Text] At the risk of being very vulgar, one should recall that one can do anything with pipes, including screw one's neighbor. This is what certain well-informed participants at the reception celebrating—all at the same time—Brezhnev's son, Belgian—Soviet friendship, the excellent Tubemeuse contracts, and hundreds of jobs created at Flemmale—sur—Cools must have been telling themselves the other day. This had nothing to do with the people demonstrating for Poland; no, they were quickly silenced. It was a much more pleasant matter.

The fact is that while the USSR is buying Tubemeuse pipes from Belgium, it is flooding Belgium—through an intermediary German company—with pipes sold at dumping prices. Better yet, Belgium has modified its laws in order to allow these illegal imports to compete better with its own producers—in this case, Tubel, a subsidiary of Tubemeuse....

The Russians Are Bringing Down Prices

Of course you don't have to tap your forehead with your finger and open your eyes wide, but it helps. When one sees this senseless movement of pipes between Flanders, Wallony, and the Gulag, there is in fact good reason to ask oneself whether the Belgians have become completely demented.

You don't know Tubel? You can be forgiven for this: the company was created only last June (retroactive to 1 January 1981) by the amalgamation of four factories which represent practically the whole light weight pipe sector of Belgium.

These four factories—two in Wallony, two in Flanders—used to belong to Tubemeuse and to the French company Valexy. When the government put Tubemeuse back on its feet by purchasing 72 percent of its stock (as against 28 percent of the German Benteler group's stock), it took advantage of this 2 years later, to put the welded pipe sector back in order. Thus, Tubel came into being, with, as its shareholders, Tubemeuse (31 percent), the Walloon region (31 percent). We should mention in passing that we have here, as in the case of Cockerill—Yards, one of the rare examples in which the Walloon region holds

shares in factories in Flanders. The Flemish did not believe it necessary to reciprocate, because it was the Walloon factories that were losing more....
But now things are going much better.

But things would be even better if it were not for the Russians and their pipes of doubtful quality which are bringing the prices down.

Who Profits From the Crime?

As usual, it took a chance event for the secret affair to be discovered. Actually, business had been complaining for a long time about a surplus of welded gas pipes in our market. Naturally, the Germans, who are the best commercial partners of the Soviets, were suspected of lending themselves to a classic scheme: once in the FGR, the goods were "nationalized" ECC and, thanks to the free circulation of goods, the trick was played. Naturally, EEC regulations forbid this practice of direct imports, but just try to distinguish between goods put into free circulation in Germany and then reexported and goods in transit.

In Belgium, in any case, the Russian pipes were illegal, because a decree fixed the import quota at zero. It is thus with the satisfaction of duty accomplished that, last May, the customs officials of Lichtenbusch stopped entire lines of trucks filled with pipes. The documents, which were fake, indicated that FGR as the country of origin. But everything was so much under control that the shippers had not even taken the trouble to remove the labels in Cyrillic script which were on the bundles of pipes. Who were the shippers? The Sairex company of the Dusseldorf region, which itself is part of an extremely discreet Swiss company.

The Swiss company is so discreet that critics wonder whether it may not have among its shareholders the Benteler group, which is itself a shareholder of Tubemeuse and, indirectly, of Tubel. But people will imagine anything when foundry owners and great capital are involved.... Besides which, the Board of Directors of Tubemeuse has vigorously protested.

The Embassy Reacted

Not imaginary were the "significant tonnages" discovered by the airborne Belgian customs at Huizingen, the seat of Tubimex, subsidiary of Sairex in Belgium. There were at the very least hundreds of tons, all illegally imported. Even less imaginary were the howls of the Soviet representatives in Belgium, who rang every possible doorbell. They did this so effectively that as early as last 3 June, a ministerial decree abolished all quotas for pipes, thus authorizing their entry. Thus, it was not necessary to investigate any further an embarassing record or to remove seals—which had never been put on, anyway. The record was in fact apparently in the process of being lost when the insistent protests of the General Inspector of Economic Affairs, of Fabrimetal, of the Brussels Chamber of Commerce, and of pipe wholesalers helped cause it to reemerge....

Officially, the reason for this extraordinary complacency on the part of Belgium toward those who are trying to screw it is that Belgian legislation was in violation of the regulations of the EEC. Thus, Tubimex won a case.

And yet today, our permanent representative reacted only mildly before the External Relations Division of the EEC, asking for "some degree of inspection" into the matter—whereas what could have been asked for was "some degree of protection" against trade dealings that have already made our industries lose significant tonnage and that threaten employment.

As Brezhnev's sen was saying the other day at Flemmal: "We look very favorably on our relations with Belgium. They will be very conducive to friendship between the peoples." This refrain is an unbreakable pipe.

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ECONOMIC

FRANCE

ECONOMIST, MAUROY ON REDUCED WORKWEEK, UNEMPLOYMENT

Sauvy Analyzes 39-Hour Week

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 22-28 Feb 82, pp 18-20

[Article by Jean-Francois Gautier: "The Sauvy Laws"]

[Text] "Create jobs"—a necessity for Mauroy—a "tragic naivety," according to Alfred Sauvy. Employment cannot be decreed, it must be won.

"The liberal tyrant was followed by an attempt to have a charity bureau.... Laxity is increasing, but not a single administration agrees to recognize its existence. Francois Mitterrand, a general advocate 'of change,' has not even deemed it useful to denounce it, which would have been easy by attributing responsibility for it to the former administration. Faithfulness, continuity, cowardice."

More than 80 years old, Alfred Sauvy still says no to early retirement. This week he is published an essay entitled "Worlds in Motion" (Calmann-Levy), in which he severely analyzes the social policy of the new administration. Between his office at the National Institute for Demographic Studies and his lecture podiums, he finds the time to create books and articles. For him, the 39-hour week is not the major worry.

"Reducing the workweek while maintaining salaries," he stated, "will create very few jobs. The reduction will certainly cause some firms to hire, but the increase in their production costs will have its effect, for example on consumers through an increase in prices. You have to look at the entire picture, and at the elimination of possibilities for jobs elsewhere."

Mr. Sauvy concluded, "The expression 'create jobs' is tragically naive."

As for the "39 hours with no change in salary," Yvon Gattaz stated last Monday before the executive committee of the CNPF [National Council of French Employers], "We consider these decisions to be unacceptable and dangerous. They will cost firms several tens of billions of francs, at a time when one out of every two is no longer agle to invest. The government decisions are

"the easy ways out and will increase business expenses and eliminate jobs."

Last Tuesday, Pierre Mauroy and Jean Auroux, minister of labor, decided to raise the minimum wage 4 to 5 points above inflation in 1982. This measure provoked a heated reaction in small and medium-size firms because of the effect the minimum wage has on the calculation of other salaries. "Income cannot be cut up like a cake," Andre Bergeron stated to the FD [Workers' Force].

At the National Federation of Public Works (FNTP), the additional cost of Auroux's laws (39-hour week and a fifth week of vacation) is estimated to be 8 percent of the average salary total. This will be the case in other labor-intensive industries, where "39 hours" will first of all mean the necessity of paying doubletime for a new supplementary hour.

"Such a surcharge will be intolerable," says the FNTP. "Most contracts are signed with fixed prices, or cancelled within three months."

Economists present two opposing theses when analyzing employment problems. The first is that adopted by the Mauroy government, in which national employment is a fixed quantity which the state must divide equally among all Frenchmen. The second is that upheld by Sauvy, who believes that only competitive work creates jobs, because it creates wealth to reinvest.

Sauvy denounces the first opinion as being based on a dangerous dogma. "In today's state of degradation," he writes, "employment must be provided by 'the lord.' It is a goal in itself, and efficiency is no longer a criterion. The Prime Minister, Pierre Mauroy, who has decreed a crusade for employment, has made no mention of this efficiency."

The former colleague of Leon Blum, Paul Reynaud, and Pierre Mendes-France is also irritated by the false logic of the "sharing of labor" when it leads, in "solidarity contracts," for example, to exchanging a preretirement for a first job.

"We cannot say that the ideas on employment are vague," noted Sauvy. "They are opposed to reason, to the extent that they have come to consider the inactive man as a useful being, almost a benefactor, and the active man, the producer of wealth, as a bothersome if not dangerous man. After this, any action, especially the worst, is allowed. The productive sector is loaded and overloaded until it folds and sends the creators of wealth to the category of inactive benefactors."

The system dismantled by Sauvy has been tested. Last week Gattaz recalled, "In 1981, business finances underwent an historic slump, profits fell 40 percent, one firm out of two can no longer invest, and 20,000 of them have folded." A fifth week of vacation, which, according to the CNPF, will cost French businesses 32.5 billion francs, is going to be grafted onto this fragile structure. Who will pay?

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Several times in his book, Sauvy berates a "general spoiled-child attitude," a "laxity," and political "cowardice." He writes: "Struggle itself is beneficial. Unemployment, inflation crisis, deficits, drugs, child neglect, crime, and terrorism all have the same clear, general cause: weakness.... The spoiled child is, in sum, looking for a completely agreeable, pleasant, and easy time, in which he is free and helped.

Sauvy concludes on "pleasure and consummation" by citing Paul Valery: "The mind opens the veins in a dream."

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Mauroy Writes to Belgian Paper

Brussels LE SOIR in French 5 Mar 82, pp 1, 8

[Text] Invited by the Catholic Conference, where he will speak this Thursday at 1800 hours at the Beaux-Arts Palace on the great challenges faced by our societies, Pierre Mauroy will meet with the King and the head of state, Wilfried Martens, during his private stay in Brussels. Friday morning, the Frence Prime Minister will pay an official visit to the European Communities. Upon the occasion of his first trip to Belgium since heading the French Government, Mauroy, herald of the fight against unemployment in France, has written an article on this subject for LE SOIR.

For almost a decade, the world has been going through a new economic crisis caused originally by the tremendous increase in the cost of energy and raw materials. Faced with this crisis, most Western democracies have looked for responses and solutions in deflationary policies—that is, in a massive reduction of public expenditures for economic stimulation or social aid, and in the establishment of interest rates at ridiculous levels.

Today everyone can evaluate the results.

In Great Britain production is declining, there are over 3 million unemployed, and price increases are still above 12 percent. In the United States production is again declining, over 8 percent of the workforce is unemployed, and the rate of price increases in 1981 was higher than that of 1980, despite a 2-percent decrease in the cost of imported raw materials.

I myself think that Milton Friedman and his theories are largely responsible for the crisis which we are undergoing.

I do not in fact believe that the behavior of a modern country's economy can be reduced to controlling the money supply or sanctifying the unemployment rate.

Of course, I am aware that in the past the left often had real difficulty in controlling the monetary and financial balance. But we have the problem of drawing lessons from history, and today we are fully aware of the fact that without stable money, controlled inflation, abundant savings, and financial systems that are in good shape, we will not reach our goals—particularly our employment goals.

Since 10 May, France has embarked on another path. The victory of the left is not, as some have dared to say, the sign that the French have relaxed their efforts. On the contrary, it is a sign of the will of the majority of the country no longer to live passively through the crisis, but to attack the causes and not just limit ourselves to undergoing the effects. I will add that the political change is also a generational change.

This sign of vitality is one of our deepest reasons for hope. The French have not turned their backs on effort. They only want, and this is no small hope, this effort to be distributed differently--for it no longer

The French have therefore said no to a certain way of managing their country. They have said no to the language of numbers, which has swept away any hint of humanity, and no to the invitation "to manage the unforeseen." No to this drought, to this call to [accept] fate, to these calls to resign ourselves to an unemployment problem which threatens to shatter the vital force of the country, which plunges too many youngsters into despair, and which, if it were to continue and grow, would sooner or later lead the workers to revolt.

We are not looking for the road to recovery in an unresponsible France, drowning in subsidies, a France in which corporationism and bureaucracy would impose their laws on the state, a France which would renounce its international commitments and cut itself off from the world.

We are looking for it in the path of growth, on the one hand, and in a new division of labor on the other hand.

We want to have the maximum growth possible, which we have set at 3 percent this year. But this growth itself will not allow us to absorb more than half of the annual increase of the active population, about 250,000 individuals. And this does not include women who justifiably hope to establish their independence through employment.

A new sharing of labor is necessary. The fight for employment is based on a gradual reduction and restructuring of the workweek. We have set 35 hours per week as the goal to be reached in 1985.

But for such a policy to have maximum effect, it must definitely be implemented on a European level. That is why the President of the Republic and the French government have advocated a European "social space." At a time when the construction of Europe is making no headway, it is looking for a larger plan, we propose to bring social policies into line. The intertwining of our

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economies demands this. The current adaptation of our means of production will permit it. Only the political will is lacking.

This is what I have come to propose in Brussels, in this European capital.

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ECONOMIC FRANCE

FARMERS' UNION LEADER INTERVIEWED ON AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Paris PARIS MATCH in French 19 Feb 82 pp 89-91, 108

[Interview by Florence Portes with François Guillaume, president of the National Federation of Farmers Unions, by Florence Portes; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] French farmers, discontent with their lot, have found in Francois Guillaume, president of the powerful National Federation of Farmers Unions (FNSEA), the leader they have been seeking for years. The man looks good in a three-piece suit in Paris and speaks well and in a direct way about a little-known profession, while at the same time he manages a 115-hectare farm in Lorraine. He has taken the lead in a revolt that is now European in its dimensions. As a matter of fact, an upcoming event could rekindle the agricultural crisis: At the end of March, European prices are to be fixed in Brussels. Guillaume has said that he will be inflexible. The FNSEA head is demanding a 16-percent increase, while negotiations are going to revolve around 9 percent. The relationship between the Socialist government and the FNSEA has gotten off to a bad start. "They have tried to destabilize us," accuses Guillaume, who also thinks that "Madame the Minister of Agriculture" cannot hold here own vis-a-vis the British and German negotiators.

[Question] Francois Mitterrand has agreed to meet with you. Does that in your view represent a "victory" over your "enemy," Edith Cresson?

[Answer] Let's say that it represents a certain retaliation, in light of the constant, repeated attacks leveled at us for the past 10 months and of the systematic attempts to destabilize the FNSEA--in vain, I must say.

[Question] Destabilize the FNSEA? How?

[Answer] By saying that the FNSEA's policies and farmers are rightwing, so their arguments are not professional but political. Our biggest crime in their opinion is that we are not members of the Socialist Party. But that is not really true, because in the FNSEA we have people with all different leanings (850,000 farmers out of 1 million pay dues to us) who draw a clear line

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between their personal political views and their responsibilities as farmers. We have socialists and communists. They may criticize the government as farmers, while for other reasons they continue to vote for the left. The opposite was true before.

[Question] In your opinion, why did the President decide to give you this interview?

[Answer] I am not interested in politics, but the President, who is a sharp politician, could not have failed to learn from the results of the parliamentary elections right before the cantonal elections. Moreover, the size and extent of the demonstrations show that it is not just a few leaders, as they have implied up to now, who are not happy with the current policy. Maybe the President also wants to reconcile with the farmers before the Brussels negotiations, which have gotten off to a bad start and are heading toward a stalemate.

[Question] After this gesture of reconciliation, the demonstrations should quiet down.

[Answer] Certainly not. Farmers know from experience that it would be to their disadvantage to let up the pressure on Brussels and Paris. Although they view the meeting granted as positive, they are waiting for significant actions—decisions regarding their income and a new attitude toward their labor union.

[Question] Could Mme Cresson be your partner in this new policy?

[Answer] She is our minister, and that will not change. It is true that in all our contacts with her up to now, she has been the one mainly responsible for the failure to reach any agreement, by behaving more like a missionary of the Socialist Party than an official of a ministerial department. She has just changed the staff of her office. This is perhaps a psychological way of giving credence to a shift toward a policy more favorable to us.

[Question] Some farmers criticize her for being incompetent, others because she is a woman. Which of these "faults" is most important?

[Answer] Incompetence. Other ministers before her were incompentent when they arrived in the ministry, but they tried to correct it quickly because they were responsible. We do not think that the fact that she is a woman is the least bit negative. Why? Women farmers have for a long time found their place in managing farms. A better question might be why is it the women who are most aggressive with her.

[Question] When?

[Answer] At Poitiers, for instance. Women led the demonstration there. They realize perhaps more than men that Edith Cresson is not one of them, that she neither can nor knows how to take account of their social origin, of their motivations and mentality. In a word, she does not understand them.

[Question] Would you advise her to stop trying to rally the women?

[Answer] That is her decision, but she doesn't seem to have understood yet....

[Question] Do you think she is capable of defending the French position in Brussels?

[Answer] She does have a certain tenacity. But just knowing how to say no is not enough. She has to find the arguments and not let herself get trapped in a deadlock situation.

[Question] There is a crisis situation, an inextricable one. The French Government cannot cut the Gordian knot all by itself.

[Answer] It has known for months what the problem was. Negotiations are prepared for well in advance and not "at the last minute," as Edith Cresson and the Prime Minister say, as they brush aside our suggestions and proposals with a sweep of the hand, adding that it is none of our business. To negotiate is to gradually bring the adversary over to your side. That is what the English did.

[Question] Have you at least succeeded in working out a satisfactory strategy for the Brussels negotiations with your German counterpart, Baron von Hermann?

[Answer] The lack of coordination between the government and us has meant that we have had to try to make our European Colleagues aware of our position without knowing the French Government's intentions! Can you imagine what a handicap that is? It will be even greater when we meet with our British colleagues.

[Question] Will there be a clash in Brussels?

[Answer] In view of the statements made by French politicians before they came to power, it is possible that the French Government will refuse to agree to continue the famous monetary compensation. What didn't we hear about these compensatory amounts under Giscard! Since then, we have been told that they must be abolished! But they have to get the Germans to agree before they can eliminate them! As for prices, we have an alternative. Either we give in to the British or we do not. If we don't, it is very likely that there will be a stalemate.

[Question] And then?

[Answer] Then we are in a deadlock, and in cases such as this, the one who can hold out the longest wins.

[Question] And what do you think of that?

[Answer] We could do that, but only on condition that it is not the French farmers who bear the brunt of the consequences. I told the President that if he opted for that tactic, then he must work out some arrangement so that the price of milk and meat can increase normally on 1 April.

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[Question] You want a French solution outside the rules of the Common Market.

[Answer] That is not my business. You must understand that since we were not asked to join in the negotiations, and since they rejected our proposals for a French strategy and sent us back to our desks, the only position we can take is to stand by our demand, namely that prices increase by more than 16 percent on 1 April, without involving ourselves in how that will be done. We do not want to be held responsible for a poor strategy. I will play my own game. I am circulating information among German and British farmers. I am organizing demonstrations, but I do not want to get involved in the debate.

[Question] Do you regard the Common Market as a necessary evil?

[Answer] I would say instead that the Common Market is positive but that it is currently letting itself be dominated by the British, with the Germans as accomplices. The others do not count for very much.

[Question] Why are the Germans in collusion?

[Answer] Because the socialists are in power in Germany, and socialists have never been interested in farming. That is quite clear in all socialist countries, the extreme example being the Eastern [European] countries, where socialism has completely missed its objectives. It is also true in France, where only Mitterrand is somewhat interested in farming, while all the members of his government are interested only in control by the workers. The German Government is not very concerned with farming, either. If it weren't for Ertl, the liberal agriculture minister, a man who has been in the business for 15 years and who knows all the ins and outs of the trade, [German] farmers would be very poorly served. Let's not even talk about England during the Labor administration.

[Question] Is there any hope for French farming under a socialist government?

[Answer] There are many different types of socialism. I would be very upset if it took on a communistic form. If it took a turn as it has in Germany, that would not be a catastrophe. But in other areas this government has already gone a great deal farther than the socialist program.

[Question] You are thinking of the property agencies and the commodity agencies. These projects seem to have reached a standstill, haven't they?

[Answer] Studies on the property agency are progressing, since a bill will be submitted to the spring session, but it will be only a very general proposal. The initial project has in fact been considerably watered down. A number of provisions were eliminated, including the commodity agencies.

[Question] Why?

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[Answer] They were in complete violation of the provisions of the Rome Treaty. Moreover, the [government] was forced to see that they were not tenable because of the Kafkaesque nature of the system which would have to be set up for controls. Finally, with the farmers dissatisfied, perhaps

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the government decided that this is not the time. General ideas developed in vitro and implementation of a project once decided on are two entirely different things. But I am under the impression that Mme Cresson still intends to put them into practice, because she has made up her mind to do so.

[Question] So your only hope is Mitterrand?

[Answer] Yes. Besides being the chief of state, he is the only one in the government who is sensitive to rural issues. He has the good sense of someone from the countryside, and he has the innate knowledge that nothing should be done precipitously. I asked clear questions. It is up to him to make the decisions. We will judge the actions.

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POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA'S RAU ON SPD, GREENS, COALITION

Hamburg STERN in German 25 Mar 82, pp 212-213

[Interview with Johannes Rau, minister-president of the North Rhine West-phalia, by STERN editors Heiner Bremer, Ulrich Rosenbaum and Felix Schmidt: "'Should We Decide in Favor of Weeds...?'"; date and place not specified]

[Text] STERN: Herr Rau, when was the last time you talked to the chancellor?

Rau: On 5 March during a discussion between minister-presidents and the chancellor, and at an earlier date when the situation in North Rhine-West-phalia came up for discussion.

STERN: I am sure he took you aside and told you that you should prepare soon for succeeding him.

Rau: He did not say a word about that. There is no reason why Helmut Schmidt should think about a successor, and I do not intend to become anybody's successor.

STERN: But do you not want to succeed yourself--if there are Landtag elections in North Rhine-Westphalia in 1985?

Rau: I think I am capable of that.

STERN: But if the countrywide trend continues in the FRG, one will have to be prepared for a four-party system—which means including the "Greens." Could you imagine yourself as minister-president in a coalition with the "Greens"?

Rau: In my opinion it seems more likely that by 1985 the "green" movement will have come to a standstill.

STERN: If an SPD mayor would ask your advice today, whether he should cooperate with the "Greens" to preserve the majority—would you advise him to do so?

Rau: No. At the present time I could not give him this advice, because in my opinion the "Greens" are unable to negotiate and operate--because of their

system of councillors and the basis of their independent democratic setup and because of their intention to rotate the leaders of the mandate.

STERN: Apparently not every leading SPD personality sees it the same way. Hans-Jochen Vogel in Berlin, for instance, is betting that the "Greens" or the Alternatives will adapt themselves to the parliamentary rules and thus they will become more predictable and will perhaps be able to work in a coalition.

Rau: As a Social Democrat I am betting on the SPD and I am not speculating on what the "Greens" will be like when they will be "green" in a different manner from what they are today.

STERN: But how "green" should the SPD be permitted to be? In particular, we like to call attention to the dispute that arose when Prof Loewenthal brought up the question, whether the SPD should provide an opening for the "Greens" or whether it would be preferable for the SPD to rely on industrial workers, its old base.

Rau: Loewenthal is certainly right when he states that the working class is the foundation of the SPD. But today these workers are also concerned about problems such as environmental pollution, ecology and economics. The problem is not that one person wants clean air and the other one wants a job. Even the person who is working in the Ruhr area wants quality of life and clean air. And the issue is not only to preserve beautiful, green residential areas but to introduce green things to those places that are currently gray.

STERN: After all, the SPD and its postwar building policy contributed to the fact that the cities are so gray....

Rau: ...and now, when the choice is between weeds and concrete, should we choose weeds? Certainly not.

STERN: But these gray concrete cities are the areas where you are losing your regular voters. What are you doing to reverse the trend?

Rau: As a matter of fact, the SPD will have to start in the cities to make up for its loss in compentence. I feel, for instance, that we must create new initiatives to establish new ways of neighborly coexistence. And anyway: the SPD should not be a debating club engaged in literary criticism, but it must deal with the realities of life.

STERN: Speaking about enjoying debates, you will have a tough time during the upcoming federal SPD rally, particularly when the question of counterarming comes up for discussion. Will the chancellor be backed by the party after all?

Rau: Yes, it will be quite evident.

STERN: How much of a majority--51 to 49 percent?

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Rau: No, there will be a large majority. Because it will not be a matter of conducting a special seminar on counterarming moratoriums—although there are always many who think so—but of articulating a political will. It means: promoting the negotiations in Geneva and making very clear that our goal is not rearmament but fewer missiles in Europe.

STERN: Erhard Eppler, however, is totally opposed to counterarming....

Rau: Erhard Eppler is an important voice within the SPD....

STERN: ...important enough to be reelected to the presidium?

Rau: During the federal party rally in Munich we will first elect an executive committee for the party, which will subsequently decide on the composition of the presidium.

STERN: Will you personally support Eppler?

Rau: As far as I am concerned, Eppler is part of the spectrum of the party, and his activities as chairman of the SPD Fundamental Values Commission are already enough of a reason to reelect him—at least I intend to do that.

STERN: Not only the left wing is putting pressure on the chancellor but also the wing representing the working class. Workers feel that the government is not doing enough when it comes to its employment policy. What will happen to the coalition if clear demands are going to be adopted in Munich—for instance, for a labor market or a supplemental levy?

Rau: As far as I am concerned, it would not endanger the coalition. If that were the case, every FDP rally would be endangering the coalition.

STERN: Is it not a fact, however, that for some time now the Bonn coalition has been maintained not so much because of agreements on certain matters but rather because the Union and Helmut Kohl have not been able to come up with an alternative for the FDP?

Rau: In my opinion, the SPD and the FDP agree no less on matters regarding foreign policy and detente, domestic and judicial policies as well as educational policies than they did at the beginning of the coalition. Sometimes conflicts in the econopolitical realm are clouding this fact.

STERN: The question remains whether the FPD will still be of the same opinion if in the fall the CDU should come to power in Hesse, and Bonn will subsequently be threatened by a policy of blockade pursued by the Union in the Bundesrat. If this should happen, would it not be better if the SPD demanded new elections?

Rau: I see no reason for new elections before 1984. I think, Helmut Schmidt knows that the majority is behind him. But the style that is being used in Bonn, how they talk and act, must be shaped in such a manner that the majority of the voters can identify with it.

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POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

KOHL'S CHOICE FOR A CDU, CSU CABINET GIVEN

Hamburg CAPITAL in German Apr 82 pp 12-13

/Report by Martin Bernstorf: "Alternative List"/

/Text/ If the government should fall overnight, a new chancellor --in the present situation Helmut Kohl--must immediately present a new cabinet. The list is fairly solid.

Should the Schmidt-Genscher Government fall tomorrow, 16 federal ministers and 20 parliamentary state secretaries or state ministers will become eligible for a pension, in addition to the present chancellor. Another 24 civil service state secretaries are likely to retire to a government subsidized private life. Also to be added in accordance with long-standing custom are a few dozen ministerial directors who, as "political officials," may not choose to survive a change in government.

All of them must be replaced. It is therefore not surprising that, the more frequently the imminent demise of the government is predicted, the more vehemently an entire horde of presumptive successors pushes at the starting gates. After all, many are ready but few are chosen.

If we assume that the fraction raises him up on the shield and the Bundestag elects him, Chancellor Kohl will try for a broad government majority. In other words he will invite the FDP to coalition negotiations, even though the liberals—rent by internal dissensions—seem to be capable of no more than toleration for a minority Union cabinet.

Should the FDP join in after all, the Union will have to leave it its current property, that is the foreign interior, economics and agriculture ministries. Maintained in their offices will be the current office holders Hans-Dietrich Genscher (foreign affairs) and Gerhart Rudolf Baum (interior). Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl, on the other hand, is likely to take the opportunity to retire to private life, as he has often indicated the wish to do so. Otto Graf Lambsdorff would also have the unexpected chance of leaving the political arena without this appearing to be in direct connection with the allegations raised against him in the party donation scandal by the public prosecutor's office.

Many Free Democrats are ready to assume Lambsdorff's mantle (CAPITAL 2/1982), but party chief Genscher has so far refrained from naming his candidate for the job.

"Brother Josef" Ertl's job might be inherited by Rhineland-Palatinate deputy Dr Wolfgang Rumpf who is a forester and adequately experienced in farming matters too. Moreover he has gained quite a reputation in the fraction and elsewhere.

The other government personnel would come from the CDU and CSU. CSU chairman and unsuccessful chancellor candidate of 1980, Franz Josef Strauss, still claims the most important department: He aspires once more to become federal finance minister, a post he held in the grand coalition of 1966-1969. Should, against all expectations, Strauss prefer to remain minister president of Bavaria, the alternative generally mentioned has been Schleswig-Holstein Minister President Gerhard Stoltenberg. In fact the tall and cool man from the north has steadily pursued federal politics from his stronghold in Kiel. Following the CDU's electoral success in the municipal elections, Stoltenberg now aims for a matching victory in next year's Landtag election. That is one of the reasons why his name is more and more frequently mentioned as a future CDU federal chancellor.

After all, something is quite certain: No later than the fall of next year (assuming the Union is then still in opposition), the party will have to settle on a top candidate for the 1984 Bundestag election. In that event Stoltenberg must definitely be given a chance against Helmut Kohl, although it would hardly be possible to pass over the latter in case of a sudden change in government between elections seeing that he is indeed the current head of the party and fraction.

There is some doubt at the moment whether, in case of a government upheaval, Stoltenberg would be willing to serve under Kohl in Bonn. The third choice for the ministry for finance would then be Svabian Dr Hansjoerg Haefele.

The defense ministry has long been disputed between two aspirants: Svabian Dr Manfred Woerner, a dashing offier of the reserve and jet pilot, and Strauss' steward in Bonn, CSU Land group chief Dr Friedrich (Fritz) Zimmermann. The latter is overdue for a government job but cannot be considered for the ministry of justice (which he would like to have), because there are some unexplained questions about his past. He has been suspected of perjury. Kohl is said to be ready, as a favor to Strauss, to give preference to Zimmermann and rebuff long-standing defense expert Woerner.

Two more CSU seniors would move into the cabinet alongside Friedrich Zimmermann: Nuremberg's Dr Oscar Schneider, for many years chairman of the Bundestag committee on regional planning, construction and urban construction, to be minister for construction, and Bavarian education minister Prof Hans Maier to be minister for education and science. In Munich Maier fearlessly deals with all-powerful Franz Josef Strauss; he may well consider advancement in Bonn as a general promotion.

One problem remaining is the ministry of justice. Kohl would like to recruit former judge Walter Wallmann. However, Wallmann has become well-nigh indispensable as chief mayor of Frankfurt. Moreover, should the CDU once again fail to gain power in this fall's Hesse election, Wallmann is supposed to replace CDU Land chairman Alfred Dregger. Consequently Dr Carl-Otto Lenz, son of deceased Adenauer state secretary Otto Lenz and long-standing chairman of the Bundestag judiciary committee, has hopes of obtaining the appointment.

Dr Rainer Barzel, 1972 chancellor candidate, is also to be given cabinet rank again. As a young man Barzel was Adenauer's minister for all-German affairs but not long

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enough to lay claim to a ministerial pension. He would once again be given the department for inner-German relations.

Some other appointments are virtually certain from the aspect of technical expertise: Dr Norbert Bluem, currently Berlin federal senator and chairman of the CDU social committee, is set to be appointed minister for labor and social affairs, media expert Christian Schwarz-Schilling minister for posts and telecommunications, traffic expert Dr Dieter Schulte minister for transport. Dr Helga Wex, chairwoman of the CDU women's federation, is to take the helm at the ministry for youth, family and health --the only concession to women.

Kohl will take his confidant and parliamentary manager Dr Philipp Jenninger along to be state minister at the chancellery. The question remains whom Helmut Kohl is going to appoint government spokesman and champion of his policies vis-a-vis the public. We may assume that he will not choose a journalist but prefer to appoint a colleague from the fraction, who has ambitions in this field.

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POLITICAL

SPAIN

SPANIARDS' ALLEGIANCE TO DEMOCRACY ALLEGEDLY INCREASING

Madrid, CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 29 Mar 82 pp 24, 27

[Article by J. M. A.: "What You Would Do in Case of a Coup-Overwhelming Majority of Spaniards in Favor of Democracy"]

[Text] More than half of the Spaniards would now even be prepared to defend democracy in case of a coup d'etat. Only 3 percent would support the coupists. Exactly a year ago, another survey institute put that same question through this magazine.

The comparison of both opinion studies, today's study and the one 12 months ago, offers a very clear result which reveals the maturity and responsibility of the Spaniards. The citizen increasingly feels inclined to defend democracy. On the other hand, the population's pro-coupist sector has remained 'unchanged at only 3 percent.

A few days after the failed coup d'etat of 23 February, 47 percent of those questioned replied that they would do nothing in case of a new attempt. Today, this passive sector has shrunk to 29 percent. Democracy consequently has more active support. Looking at the sex breakdown, men proved to be more committed to legality. Women on the other hand deny their support to coupism in higher percentages than men; on the other hand, their passivity increases with 33 percent who "would do nothing."

The enormous rejection of coupism by a portion of the civilian population seems to spring from the conviction that it is expressed in the answer to another question: Except for 5 percent, nobody believes that a hypothetical triumph of the seditionists would help settle the problems of the Spaniards. Besides, 63 percent replied that the country would be worse off and 9 percent thought that the situation would be the same.

No Social Base

The survey by the Emopublica Institute, one of the biggest and therefore one with the highest index of reliability conducted so far, was carried out several days before the start of the trial hearing. One of the questions was as follows: "The prosecutor has asked for 30 years imprisonment for generals Milans del Bosch and Armada and Lieutenant Colonel Tejero for their participation in the 23 February coup d'etat. Does this sound very harsh to you, fair, or, on the contrary, light?"

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One out of every four men questioned thought that the punishment was light and one out of every six thought that it was very harsh; 39 percent thought that the request was fair. Women proved to be more benevolent but there were also more of them who thought that the prosecutor's request was light, rather than very harsh. For 40 percent of the women, it was fair to ask for 30 years of imprisonment. In the table analyzing the attitudes of the various job categories toward the coup d'etat, we must stress some facts which however are simple to list: (1) If we apply a social evaluation to the various job categories, there are no differences by social classes and democracy and liberty are defended equally while sedition is condemned with the same unanimity; (2) among industrial workers, the skilled worker feels much more disposed to defend democracy than the poor peasant; (3) entrepreneurs and manufacturers are mostly with the Constitution. Although their percentages are the highest, only 10 percent think that they would be better off in case of a coupist success; (4) executives, self-employed persons, and medium-level managerial personnel most clearly line up in defense of democracy, giving us the highest percentages regarding their behavior against the coup and their belief that a victorious coup would mean that the Spaniards would be worse off; (5) farmers are most inhibited with 37 percent saying that they "would do nothing."

While, judging by the variations among job categories it seems evident that there is not slightest social base that would support a coup d'etat, the same is true concerning the population groups, according to the number of inhabitants of the cities. Here there are likewise no major differences between rural and urban Spain. Coupist support does not exceed 3 percent. In small towns, what increases is the percentage of "don't know, no response" compared to the big cities.

Cities with more than half a million inhabitants exceed the percentage average in answering the key questions: they will defend democracy, the prosecutor's request for punishment for the coup leaders is light, and if a coup were to be victorious, the Spanish people would be worse off.

From a comparison of data among job categories and population size categories, one might deduce—apart from the previously mentioned findings as to the absence of a civilian base for coupism—that the higher the citizen's cultural level, the greater his ability to get information and the lesser his isolation in the area in which he lives, the more does he reject involutionism and the end of democracy.

Another important sector of the population, likewise represented in the survey, expresses behavior and attitudes very similar to the preceding ones. Here we have those people who do not participate actively. They include the retirees, housewives, students, and unemployed.

Housewives and retirees come up with very similar responses, with a high index of passivity to a coup and one-fourth came up with "no response" or "don't know" on other questions. Unemployed answered in a manner similar to the national average, stressing their belief that the penalty asked by the prosecutor is "light." Students proved to be more determined in replying—to the tune of 73 percent—that they think that everything would get "worse" in case of a coupist success and 65 percent are ready to defend democracy as against 4 percent who would support the coup.

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Technical Survey Data

Universe: Individuals of 18 years or older. Area: Persons living on peninsula and islands. Sample size: 10,362 personal interviews in homes. Sampling error: +1 percent in the most unfavorable case of 50 percent [replies] and with a degree of confidence of 95.5 percent. Number of sampling points: Approximately 700. Date of field work: January-February 1982. Conducted by: Instituto Emopublica y Saltes, S. A. Consultores.

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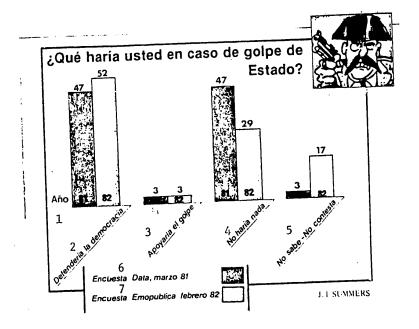
than 2,000 inhabitants; 16--More than 500,000; 17--Inactive population; 18--Unemployed; 19--Retirees; 20--Students; 21--Housewives; 22--Behavior in case of coup d'etat; 23--Opinion on prosecutor's request; 24--If a coup d'etat were to be victorious, we would fare; 25--Defend democracy; 26--Support 6--Unskilled worker; 7--Field hand; 8--Entrepreneur; 9--Farmer; 10--Manufacturer; 11--Self-employed 12--Autonomous; 13--Medium-level managerial personnel; 14--Population group; 15--Less the coup; 27--Would do nothing; 28--Don't know, no response; 29--Very harsh; 30--Fair; 31--Light; Key: 1--National total; 2--Job categories; 3--Salesman; 4--Skilled worker; 5--Secondary services; 32--Better; 33--Same; 34--Worse; de--From; a--To. manager;

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The prosecutor has asked for 30 years imprisonment for Generals Milans del Bosch and Armada and for Lieutenant Colonel Tejero. Does this appear to be a very harsh, a fair, or a light penalty? Key: 1--In percentages; 2--Very harsh; 3--Fair; 4--Light; 5--Don't know, no response; 6--Men; 7--Women.



What would you do in case of a coup d'etat? Key: 1—Year; 2—Defend democracy; 3—Support the coup; 4—Would do nothing; 5—Don't know, no response; 6—Survey date, March 1981; 7—Emopublica survey, February 1982.



Key: 1--What would you do in case of a coup d'etat? 2--In percentages; 3--Defend democracy; 4--Would do nothing; 5--Support the coup; 6--Don't know, no response; 7--Men; 8--Women; 9--If a coup d'etat were to be victorious, would we be faring better, same, or worse? 10--Better; 11--Same; 12--Worse.

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MILITARY

FRANCE

SNIAS, THOMSON-CSF COLLABORATE ON ANTIMISSILE PROJECT

Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 27 Mar pp 42, 48

[Article by Pierre Langereux: "SNIAS and Thomson-CSF Cooperation on SAN Naval Surface-to-Air Antimissile Missile"]

[Text] Aerospatiale (SNIAS) is collaborating with Thomson-CSF on the AMSA-SAN (Surface-to-Air Antimissile-Naval Surface-to-Air Missile) project. SAN is a vertical-launched missile designed for the point defense of surface ships. It is being developed under the French-British AMSA program, the successor to the "6S" program which has now been abandoned.

Feasibility studies of the 6S--an antiaircraft and antimissile point defense system for surface ships of the French, German, and British navies--had been initiated in 1975 within the NATO framework. For budgetary reasons, however, Germany withdrew from what had all the prospects of becoming a truly European cooperative program. Instead the FRG chose to join with the U.S.A. in developing a less ambitious naval surface-to-air missile, the General Dynamics RAM system which is to be installed on German Navy patrol ships. Germany's withdrawal from the 6S program led the other partners to terminate the program, at least in its initial form.

Approximately a year ago, the French and British navies initiated a similar project designated AMSA. This project still calls for a shipborne antiaircraft defense system but with the addition of an enhanced antimissile capability designed to cope with antiship missiles of the coming decade.

In mid-1981, British and French manufacturers initiated joint studies which by year's end led to the submission of various proposals to interested agencies of both governments, proposals complete with development plans and cost estimates.

Four proposals were submitted by different industrial consortiums whose members include Thomson-CSF, Matra, Aerospatiale, and British Aerospace. The proposal selected would in all cases call for equitable sharing of all work by industries of both countries.

One of these proposals is the AMSA-SAN project submitted by Thomson-CSF and Aerospatiale. It calls for use of a new missile whereas the other proposals remain based on a more conventional missile.

French and British authorities are expected to decide this year on whether to continue the AMSA program, and if so, announce their choice of one of the four proposals along with terms and conditions of the new French-British cooperation agreement on development and production of the future missile system.

Both navies, especially the French Navy, are highly interested in this new AMSA system which would be scheduled to become operational by 1992.

In the AMSA-SAN project, Thomson-CSF is responsible for the "system" part and particularly the major electronic components—surveillance and target acquisition radars, fire control system and command data link—which are an important element of the missile system. Aerospatiale's Tactical Missiles Division handles the missile proper and the launch equipment.

The AMSA-SAN weapon system is designed to intercept aircraft and especially antiship missiles of the 1990's. The threat at that time will markedly consist of very high-speed (clearly supersonic), highly maneuverable, and hardened missiles capable of operating in an electronic countermeasures environment.

According to Aerospatiale officials, the SAN missile is of "revolutionary" design and, therefore, has new capabilities in comparison with standard present-day missiles:

- a. Very short reaction time;
- b. High maneuverability (more than 50 gs);
- c. Very high peak speed (supersonic). Thus for a given target detection range, the intercept range is greater than the one attained by a standard missile, or inversely, for a given intercept range, the SAN can accept a lower detection range, a capability which is a definite tactical advantage.

Simulations have shown that these two characteristics are those having the main impact on the flyby distance from rapid-flying and maneuvering targets. Consequently under the most difficult defense conditions, the SAN, with its shorter flyby distance capability, has greater effectiveness than other missiles. In particular, it has a very high probability of "structurally" destroying the target, in other words, of literally stopping the attacking missile, and no longer of merely damaging one of its components, damage that would not be enough to prevent it from staying on course and hitting its target in spite of everything.

This essential characteristic of the SAN missile, namely that of having a very short flyby distance, is obtained by equipping the missile with a sustainer rocket motor whose thrust can be directed around its own center of gravity at the proper time. It is thus possible to maintain trajectory speed and accomplish an extremely rapid "power steering maneuver" (by thrust deflection) which combines with the action of conventional aerodynamic flight controls—control surfaces driven by pneumatic actuators—and considerably enhances their performance.

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This composite flight control system, called PIF-PAF by Aerospatiale, is the new missile's main innovation. It enables the missile to maneuver under high load factors without thereby requiring added disadvantageous missile weight, and while still having a very rapid reaction time. This thrust deflection applied to the missile at the moment of intercept thus ensures a very short flyby distance in the terminal phase of flight. The missile can, therefore, intercept the target by scoring a direct hit or approach close enough to destroy it. The SAN missile is designed, in fact, to have a high single shot kill probability against a high-performance antiship missile. Although the SAN's range is classified, it may be assumed that it will be a short-range missile, the detection capability of radars mounted on antiship missiles being limited in such case because of the small equivalent radar area and low-level flight (clutter).

This same thrust deflection capability also serves to pitch the missile over onto its sustainer flight path after its vertical launch by a jettisonable booster which accelerates the missile to flight speed. In addition, during the missile's low-speed phase of flight, thrust deflection is used to slew the missile rapidly onto its target intercept course.

The SAN missile thus derives full advantage from its vertical launch capability which gives it the 360-degree free-fire zone needed to counter the threat of future supersonic antiship missiles of the 1990's in a saturation attack situation.

The SAN will, therefore, be a small supersonic missile with a thrust-deflection sustainer motor designed by Thomson-Brandt and derived from a motor which that company had proposed for its Brandon very short-range surface-to-air missile.

The SAN missile will be equipped with an active radar homing guidance system developed from preliminary design studies conducted for other programs. In France, Thomson-CSF has designed a solid-state homing guidance system and ESD [Serge Dassault Electronics] has designed an active antiaircraft homing guidance system (4A) whose development is supported by government technical services. The command-data link's receiver and its associated antennas will be housed in the wings. The missile will be armed with a warhead whose explosive charge sprays highly focalized fragments and is detonated by an electromagnetic proximity fuse. The navigation system will use a strap-down inertial platform. The SAN will be delivered as a complete missile round, the missile with its folded wing and stabilizer being housed in a cylindrical storage and launch canister.

Land-Based Version

Aerospatiale is also planning to apply the same missile concept (PIF-PAF flight control system) to other air defense versions, including a future land-based surface-to-air missile capable of intercepting aircraft and tactical missiles.

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This missile, which might also be developed jointly with Thomson-CSF, would succeed the TRISAM surface-to-air missile project, a collaborative European-France, Germany, and Great Britain--project which had been under study for several years but met a fate similar to that of the 6S project.

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MILITARY

FRANCE

EUROMISSILE GROUP COMPLETES STUDIES ON ANTITANK MISSILES

Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 27 Mar 82 p 43

[Article by Pierre Langereux: "EMDG Completes Feasibility Studies on Third-Generation Antitank Missiles"]

[Text] Feasibility studies on future third-generation medium-and long-range antitank missiles have been completed. In mid-1981, the Euromissile Dynamics Group (EMDG) formed by Aerospatiale (France), Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm (Germany), and British Aerospace Dynamics Group (Great Britain), submitted the results of their 2 years of studies to official agencies in their three respective countries.

In late 1981, these agencies approved the development of two new third-generation antitank missile systems. One is a medium-range missile designed to replace the Milan system, the other a long-range missile to replace the HOT and Swingfire systems. EDMG is now awaiting finalization of a new memorandum of understanding between its three partners before beginning the development program's definition phase. These new antitank missile systems are expected to become operational in the early 1990's.

These missiles will be developed according to specifications jointly formulated by military staffs of the three countries. The new systems will have ranges comparable to those of the French-German Milan--2,000 meters--and HOT--4,000 meters--systems which they will replace about the middle of the next decade. These ranges are based on the dimensions of European terrain compartmentation which will not have greatly varied by that time.

On the other hand, the third-generation missiles will have to take into account the threat of the 1990's which, unlike the terrain, will have changed with the appearance of new and better protected tanks—low profiles, composite armor, etc.—as will be the case with the Soviet T-80 tank's successor.

The rate of fire will likewise have to be considerably increased over that of current missiles which must keep their launch and fire control units occupied during the missile's entire time of flight: 13 seconds for the Milan, 18 seconds for the HOT. Consequently the new missiles will have a fire-and-forget capability and/or increased speed (supersonic).

To achieve this goal, EMDG proposes two different design concepts for the two systems: a fire-and-forget long-range missile and a supersonic medium-range missile. This approach will also avoid pernicious standardization of European weapons.

Two guidance systems have also been chosen for each of the two missiles: a 10-12 micron infrared homing seeker or an active radar homing seeker especially for the fire-and-forget missile. A choice will eventually have to be made between these two guidance systems on the basis of effectiveness and self-containment criteria.

Studies of these different guidance systems are being conducted concurrently in the three countries. In France, Thomson-CSF and SAT [Telecommunications Corporation] are studying the infrared guidance system while ESD and Thomson-CSF are working on the radar guidance system. In Germany, AEG-Telefunken is studying the radar system and BGT [Bodenseewerk Geraetetechnik] the infrared system. In Great Britain, British Aerospace is handling the infrared system and Marconi (and Plessey) the radar system.

Development and production of the approved system or systems will then be apportioned among industries in the three countries.

Similarly, development and production tasks for the two missile systems will be distributed among industrial firms in the three countries, with a small central project management organization, DEMG at this juncture, being responsible for major decisions and courses of action. Under this plan, Aerospatiale will handle the medium-range missile and missile system while British Aerospace and Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm (MBB) will be responsible for the long-range system, with British Aerospace being responsible specifically for the surface-to-surface version and the missile, and MBB for the helicopter-borne version.

The cost of the new third-generation antitank missiles should not exceed the cost of the present Milan and HOT missiles.

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MILITARY FRANCE

BRIEFS

AIR-TO-AIR MISSILE TEST--The official review L'ARMAMENT revealed this week that Matra's new air-to-air missile Magic 2 had successfully completed its first in-flight test firing at the Landes Test Center (CEL) on 18 November 1981. The missile was launched from a Mirage 3 aircraft assigned to the Cazeaux Flight Test Center. The test was conducted as part of the Magic 2 development program begun in 1978. The new missile is designed to arm the Mirage 2000, Dassault Breguet's new combat aircraft. [Text] [Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 27 Mar 82 p 41] [COPYRIGHT: A. & C. 1982] 8041

ANTITANK MISSILE NIGHT LAUNCHES--Euromissile announced that to date it had conducted 25 night firings of HOT antitank missiles from a light Dauphin combat helicopter, and that 22 of the 25 missiles fired had scored target hits. Euromissile officials said these results demonstrated a mastery of thermal imaging and stabilized platform technologies. The missiles were launched from a Dauphin helicopter equipped with a thermal imaging unit (infrared 10-12 microns) mounted on a Venus stabilized platform. The first firings--at ranges of from 1,700 to 3,000 meters--were conducted at the Bourges firing range and in connection with the Satory [French Army weapons] show. Another series of firings were conducted in 1982, but this time at the Cazeaux Test Center in the Landes region. Eight HOT missiles were fired on dark nights under conditions of high humidity and as part of the qualification program for pre-production missiles. Seven target hits were made. The helicopter flew at altitudes of from 10 to 100 meters either in hover flight, or in forward flight at 70 to 150 kilometers per hour, or while performing an evasive maneuver. The missiles were fired at ranges of 2,500 to 3,700 meters. The two firings at the latter range were target hits. The French-German HOT is an antitank missile with a daytime range of 4,000 meters. It is produced jointly by Aerospatiale and Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm. [Text] [Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 3 Apr 82 p 57] [COPYRIGHT: A. & C. 1982] 8041

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GENERAL FRANCE

JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA SHOW INTEREST IN SUPER PUMA, SATELLITES

Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 27 Mar 82 pp 9, 48

[Article: "Japan Interested In the Transall and the Super Puma"]

[Text] Our Tokyo correspondent informs us that as a result of a visit to Japan by Jacques Mitterrand, president of Aerospatiale and the GIFAS [Association of French Aeronautical and Space Industries], the Transall [military transport] is in favorable position in its open competition with the [Lockheed] Hercules for selection as Japan's maritime reconnaissance aircraft. The 1983 budget could include the initial funds for three such aircraft. The Super Puma [military transport helicopter] is under consideration for two programs. One is a Maritime Self-Defense Force program calling for deliveries of helicopters over a 10-year period. Super Puma's rival in this program is the Bell 214 [super transport helicopter]. The second is an Air Self-Defense Force long-range search and rescue helicopter program. In addition to the usual American competitors, the Super Puma also faces competition in this second program from the Boeing Vertol-Kawasaki 107-X whose conversion would be very expensive. Also noteworthy is the fact that the first Ecureuil 365N [helicopter] ordered by the Tokyo fire department is now in the process of assembly and certification.

In contrast, the Airbus was mentioned only by the French side. This commercial transport is used by the Japanese regional airline TDA which has purchased nine and already received six. Yet TDA has still not obtained the corresponding traffic rights from Japanese authorities. This accounts for the low utilization—4 hours per day—of these aircraft. Nevertheless, TDA is highly satisfied with its Airbus transports. All Nippon appears to be interested in the A 320. Japan Air Lines is simultaneously studying the Boeing 767, the A 310, with perhaps a possibility of acquiring A 300's.

During his 3 days in Tokyo, Jacques Mitterrand met with five cabinet ministers, the three major Japanese aircraft manufacturers, and top executives of the three major airlines. This visit was preliminary to the one made by Michel Jobert, the foreign trade minister, and which itself preceded the visit by President of the Republic François Mitterrand.

In South Korea, Jacques Mitterrand received a welcome comparable to the one given him in Japan. Talks on arms purchases were conducted in great secrecy.

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We do note that South Korea recently received Harpoon missiles and that F-5 fighters are going to be assembled in Korea. Northrop has awarded contracts for production of F-5 components to four local manufacturers. In the civil aviation field, nothing is expected from Korean Air Lines which already has a surplus capacity, particularly in Boeing 747's. South Korea did show interest in communications satellites.

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GENERAL

FRANCE

BRIEFS

SECOND ARIANE LAUNCH COMPLEX--The National Center for Space Studies has designated Comsip Enterprise as prime contractor for equipment and installation work on the ELA 2 (Launch Complex 2) for the European Ariane launcher, at Kourou, French Guiana. Comsip will be assisted in this contract by Air Liquide, Simca, and Siged. This group will install facilities and equipment for handling toxic, conventional, and cryogenic fluids, plus equipment for the administrative and operations buildings. It will also install control equipment for ground systems and the Ariane launch vehicle checkout stand. Comsip's share of the contract is valued at 60 million francs. Comsip officials stated that the ELA 2 complex is scheduled to become operational in 1984. They also pointed out that their firm currently has 180 specialists operating tracking equipment and fueling launch vehicles at the Guiana Space Center. [Text] [Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 3 Apr 82 p 59] [COPYRIGHT: A. & C. 1982] 8041

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GENERAL

ITALY

REVISED NATIONAL SPACE PROGRAM FOR 1932-86 APPROVED

Paris AIR ET COSMOS in French 3 Apr 82 pp 53-57

[Article by special correspondent in Rome, Pierre Langereux: "First Revision of the Italian Space Program for 1982-1986"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Over a period of 6 years, Italy will devote 1,100 billion lire to space, half of which for the national program.

/The first revision of the Italian space program,/ approved on 23 March 1982 by the Interministerial Committee for Economic Planning (CIPE), was presented the next day by Prof /Luciano Guerriero,/ director of the program, to the National Council for Research (CNR), at the opening session of the 22nd International Scientific Convention on Space which took place in Rome (Italy), on 25-26 March.

The national Italian program has therefore been revised as planned, although with a slight delay (March 1982 instead of December 1981). It is nevertheless an important step for the Italian space industry which had been waiting impatiently for the CIPE decision, since this decision /ensures the continuity of the space program/ as far as the development of the new Italian space programs is concerned. The National Space Program covers in fact only /national/programs, i.e. those carried out by Italy alone or, in some cases, in bilateral cooperation. The Italian participation to the European space programs is decided elsewhere within the European Space Agency, of which Italy is one of the main members.

This first revision of the National Space Program led to the presentation of a /second space program covering the period 1982-86/ and continuing the first program (1979-83) which had been approved by CIPE only in October 1979 and consequently started late (in 1980 only). The National Space Program is managed by the CNR and was supposed to be revised every other year, according to a "sliding program" formula which made it possible to adjust the objectives and the means as a function of economic conditions.

The revision of the initial program, which started at the end of 1981, has thus led to a new five-year program (1982-86) replacing and completing the previous program (1979-83). In particular, the first two years (1982-83) of the new program are also the last two years of the initial program. The second program is to be revised again at the end of this two-year period, i.e. at the end of 1983.

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1,100 Billion Lire

The first space program provided that, over a 5-year period (1979-83), approximately /500 billion lire/ (1979 prices) would be devoted to all of the Italian space activities: approximately 200 billion lire to the national program and nearly 300 billion lire to Italy's participation in the European ESA program. The national program was thus to receive 98 billion lire during the first 3 years (1979-81) and 102 billion lire during the last 2 years (1982-83).

/The new revised Italian space program has been considerably increased./

/During the next 6 years, Italy intends to devote over 1,100 billion lire to space; approximately 500 billion lire (end-of-1981 prices) will go to its participation in European programs./ The present objective is to devote /approximately 200 billion lire per year to space,/ half for the Italian program, the other half for the ESA program.

The National Space Program benefits from this increase to a large extent since it is expected to receive /660 billion lire until 1987 included/; this includes 39 billion lire which have already been allocated for 1979-81, 513 billion for the 1982-86 period of the second program, and 108 billion lire thereafter (see Table). These amounts are for payment credits, which total 552 billion lire for the period 1979-86 (including 513 billion lire in 1982-86) and are to be covered by funds allocated for that purpose (including 98 billion lire in available funds, and 454 billion lire of new credits for 1982-86). The commitment credits will amount to 592 billion lire for the second program and 656 billion lire for the period 1979-86. By then, the Italian space industry should employ some /1,800 to 2,000 people,/ according to the program estimates.

Of these 552 billion lire allocated to national space activities over the first and second programs (1979-86), 200 billion lire had already been approved by CIPE as part of the initial program. Since only part of these credits, viz. 60 billion lire, has been used to-date, there remains an available balance of 140 billion lire for the second program which, therefore, includes 352 billion lire as the result of "new measures" approved recently by CIPE until 1986.

Under the second national program, therefore, /513 billion lire/ will be made available /for the 5-year period 1982-86 only,/ i.e. slightly over 100 billion lire per year. Even if Italian inflation is taken into account, this represents an appreciable increase in actual value over the amounts allocated in

These 513 billion lire of the national plan break down as follows: 76 billion lire in 1982 and 82 billion lire in 1983, the balance over the remainder

^{1.} See AIR ET COSMOS No 830.

^{2.} These amounts are given in current lire (December 1981) and should of course be adjusted during the coming fiscal years to take inflation into account.

of the fiscal year. However, only the credits for 1982-83 will receive the final approval of CIPE who will revise the program again in two years from now. The credits for 1982-83 are therefore taken for granted. However, they must still be confirmed when the annual Italian budgets are approved.

Priority to Italsat

As before, the new 1982-86 space program covers the industrial and scientific activities related to developments in the fields of propulsion and satellites, as well as scientific and technical experiments related to the study of future projects. Similarly, the primary objective of the national program remains the development of the Italian space industry, especially in the field of telecommunications, in particular with the national Italsat satellite program which is the main piece.

The /Italsat/ satellite program alone will absorb three-fifths of the 1982-86 program credits, i.e. /316 billion lire/ to bring the program to completion. This includes 3 and 18 million lire respectively for the study and definition stages of the program and 295 billion lire for its development, viz. 210 billion lire for the satellite and 39 billion lire to launch it, plus 35 billion lire for the construction of the 20-30 GHz telecommunications stations, 4 billion lire for one year of operation (the remainder being financed by the PTT [Postal and Telecommunications Administration]) and 7 billion lire for the 40-50 GHz propagation measurement campaign.

The Italsat satellite is now being studied by Telespazio, with an important participation from CNS National Space Council and Selenia, and the cooperation of other Italian companies, among which STS [Consortium for Satellite Telecommunications Systems], CSELT [Telecommunications Research and Study Center], CTSE [expansion unknown] and FIAR [expansion unknown].

Italsat is to be a pre-operational telecommunications satellite equipped with a 20-30 GHz telecommunications payload for digital telephone and "special services" (fac-simile, teleconferencing, data transmission, etc.) and with instruments to study propagation conditions at higher frequencies (40-50 GHz). The satellite will be stabilized along its three axes and provided with a large 1,370 W solar generator (13 m span). It will make it possible to qualify new technologies (multi-beam antennas, multiple access in SS [expansion unknown]-TDMA [Time-Division Multiple Access], on-board communication, etc.) for future Italian telecommunications satellites. The satellite will have a mass of either 1,170 kg or 1,270 kg (including a 200-kg payload), depending on whether it is launched by Ariane or by the space shuttle; this apparently has not yet been decided. Nor has yet a platform been selected; it could be either Italian (credits have been earmarked), or American (Hughes Aircraft), or French (Telecom 1). Negotiations on this have just started with MATRA [Mechanics, Aviation and Traction Company]. The Italian industry attaches considerable importance to this selection since the Italsat platform could lead to the construction of /a dozen flight models/ for future national Italian programs for operational telecommunications satellites, direct television satellites and "national services" satellites (SICRAL [expansion unknown] military satellite project).

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The Italsat satellite is now in the definition stage; its development is scheduled to start during the second quarter of 1983 and to be completed during the third quarter of 1987. Under the new program, /the launching of the satellite is scheduled for the last quarter of 1987 or the first quarter of 1988./ The satellite will have an expected life of five years (until the beginning of 1993) during which it will be used by the Italian PTT to prepare the installation of a national operational space telecommunications network.

The definition of the ground network associated to the Italsat satellite is also in progress; the development of stations is scheduled to start during the second quarter of 1983 and be completed toward mid-1985. The stations planned are as follows: one satellite monitoring station, several experimental stations for 40-50 GHz propagation measurements, and four 20-30 GHz telecommunications stations to be installed at Fucino, Rome, Milan and at another site yet to be selected. These telecommunications stations will be equipped with a low-noise amplifier (FET [field-effect transistor]) and with amplifiers of 50-200 W for telephony (120 MBits/second) and 100 W for specialized services (25 MBits/second).

30 Percent of L-SAT

The Italian industry is also taking a large part in the ESA [European Space Agency] L-SAT program for a European experimental direct TV and telecommunications satellite; the Italian contribution to this program amounts to about /30 percent/ of the program cost which is estimated at about 460 million of accounting units, i.e. close to 2,800 million French francs. At present, this is the most expensive ESA satellite program. The construction of the L-SAT has been entrusted to the British Aerospace Company with /Selenia/ as principal cooperator--Selenia is responsible for the integration of the four satellite payloads and for the supply of two of them, for 20-30 GHz telecommunications and for direct TV broadcasting. In fact, L-SAT will provide /two channels for experimental direct TV broadcasting over Italy./

Italian official are, in fact, placing great hopes in the national Sirio 1 satellite (launched in 1977) and in the new L-SAT and Italsat satellites to /acquire capabilities unique in Europe in the use of high frequencies/ (20 to 50 GHz) which will be the key to the telecommunications satellites of the 1990's.

In addition, one year ago, the CIPE has approved the /MONOMIC/ [expansion unknown] program, to which 5 billion lire are allocated in the new national space program. This is a pilot project for the manufacture of gallium arsenide (GaAs) monolithic integrated circuits operating at 12 GHz, which will be integrated into a /home direct-TV broadcasting set./ This development, to be completed early in 1983, is now being carried out by Italtel, Selenia and CISE [expansion unknown], in cooperation with RAI [Italian Radio Broadcasting and Television Company] and several Italian universities.

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IRIS For Ariane?

At present, Italy is carrying out two national programs in cooperation with NASA. These are IRIS (Italian Research Interim Stage), a powder-propellant upper stage, and TSS (Tethered Satellite System).

The /IRIS/ propulsion unit was originally designed as an upper stage for the American Shuttle, to place 600 or even 900-kg satellites into geostationary orbits, as a complement to the American upper stages (SSUS/PAM A and SSUS/PAM D) which NASA had already decided to use. But, in view of the potential difficulties in having this stage accepted for the shuttle, /Italy is now offering IRIS as the fourth stage of the future Ariane 3 and 4 launchers/ for the launching of European scientific satellites on planetary orbits, or as an /apogee motor/ for the placing of European telecommunications satellites into geostationary orbits by Ariane 3 and 4. However, this use has not yet been approved by the direction of the Ariane program. Italy is now looking for a market for IRIS for which /only three uses are contemplated at present/: the launching of the future Italian X-ray astronomy satellite, that of a Lageos 2 geodetic satellite, and that of a satellite of NASA's AMPTE program.

The program is now being carried out in cooperation by Italian companies; the prime contractor is Difesa e Spazio (27 percent participation), Aeritalia (34 percent) being in charge of heat monitoring and structures, CNS (15 percent) in charge of the nutation damper, Laben (14 percent) of the telemetry encoder-decoder, Selenia (8 percent) of the antennas and the transmitter, and FIAR (2 percent) of the batteries.

The development of the IRIS stage should start in October 1982; as of now, the first launching is scheduled for /May 1986./

The cost of the program, financed under the second space program, is estimated at 74 billion lire—60 billion lire for the development of the stage, and 14 billion lire for the cost of the first launching.

Tethered Satellite

This month, the /TSS/ satellite project will enter its definition stage; it will be the responsibility of Aeritalia which has received a 3.7 billion lire contract extending over 18 months. This program also has been delayed since launching is now scheduled for /1987/ according to the Italian space program.

This program is covered by a memorandum of agreement with NASA, according to which Italy would be responsible for the system, for the construction of the satellite and for the integration of the experiments; an American company would realize the deployment system of the satellite as well as the experiments.

Let us recall that this is a program for the realization of a /tethered satellite/, deployed from the hold of the space shuttle to which it would remain connected by a cable (unwound by a winch), which would /explore the regions located 10-100 km below or above the shuttle orbit, the latter gravitating at an altitude of approximately 200 km.

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Expenditures Projected in the 1982-86 Ita	Italian S _l	Space Program,		in Billion Lire	ion Lir		mber 19	(December 1981 Frices)	(S)
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to the San Marco D program of CRA. * Credits transferred by CIPE

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According to Italian officials, such a satellite could be used for the /de-tection/ of earth resources, as well as for various /scientific/ experiments: direct observation of ionosphere-magnetosphere coupling phenomena (around altitudes of 125-150 km), in-situ study of plasma waves and currents (with an electron gun on board), production of very low frequency electromagnetic waves to study ionospheric propagation, direct simulation of electromagnetic phenomena (using a very high voltage--30 kV--conductor cable through magnetic fields), etc.

X-Ray Astronomy Satellite

The program provides that 50 million lire will be allocated for the /realization, under a bilateral cooperation agreement, of a new Italian scientific satellite/ devoted to /X-ray astronomy/, which is scheduled to be launched in /1986./

The feasibility study for this future satellite has been entrusted by CNR to Aeritalia. Two options are now being contemplated:

- either a SAX [X-Ray Astronomy Satellite] satellite devoted to the study of /hard X-rays,/ with an energy ranging from 2 to 200 keV, provided with scintil-lation counters. Such a satellite would weight 600-700 kg and would be placed into a circular orbit with an inclination of less than 12°. This version would involve cooperation with the /Netherlands;/
- or an OOXA [expansion unknown] satellite for the study of /soft X-rays/, between 0.1 and 2 keV, using a powerful incidence telescope. Such a satellite would weigh 1.4 ton and would have to be placed by the shuttle into a circular orbit having a 28° inclination. For this version, cooperation with /Great-Britain/ is contemplated.

However, a new possibility has appeared recently; it would involve /cooperation with France./ France has offered Italy to participate in the French gamma-astronomy satellite project, /Sigma/, which has in fact a very interesting mission, and which the CNES [National Center for Space Studies] cannot realize on its own.

Therefore, Italy will have to decide whether it prefers its X-ray astronomy satellite project or a participation in the French gamma-astronomy satellite project.

Lageos 2 Geodetic Satellite

/Space geodesy is one of the most important innovations of the second space program/ which is allocating 20 billion lire to it: 9 billion lire for satellite laser range-finding, 5 billion lire for large-base radio-interferometry (VLBI), another 5 billion lire for the Lageos 2 satellite project, and 1 billion lire for geodetic data processing.

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The space program provides for the creation of a /national observation network/ to monitor tectonic activity in the Mediterranean basin, and especially to /forecast the earthquakes/ which periodically devastate the peninsula. This network would include a /fixed laser station/ supplied by the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory (SAO) and a /mobile laser station/ manufactured in Italy in cooperation with NASA and the Delft (Netherlands) Physics Institute. The network would use the American Lageos 1 satellite, launched in 1976 into an orbit located at an altitude of 5,900 km and inclined at 110°. This passive satellite is a sphere 60 cm in diameter and weighing 410 kg, which is covered with 426 laser reflector-prisms which reflect the radiations emitted by earth stations.

The space program also provides for the realization, by Italy, of a second passive geodetic satellite, Lageos 2, which might be launched for free by the NASA shuttle in 1987.

Italy also intends to /participate in the international large-base radio-interferometry (VLBI) campaign/ to be organized in 1985-86 at the initiative of the United States. For this campaign, a 25-m fixed radio-interferometry antenna would be installed in Bologna, and a mobile station would be built in cooperation with NASA (type ORION or GPS); these two projects, under guidance from the CNR, should be completed by 1983-84.

SAR Radar for Spacelab

The space program also stresses /remote sensing/ to which 30 billion lire will be allocated over 5 years, viz. 15 billion lire for the development of sensors, 10 billion lire for pilot projects, and 5 billion lire for data processing.

A program for the development of new sensors has been launched. Telespazio and CISE have been entrusted with the development of /optical sensors/ (visible and infrared radiations), and a pool of Italian companies including CISE, Contraves, Selenia and SMA [expansion unknown] has been entrusted with the feasibility study of a /synthetic aperture radar (SAR)/. This SAR instrument is intended for /Spacelab/ and will be developed in cooperation with /Germany/ which has recently given its agreement to the project. It is estimated in Italy that the development of the C-band SAR will cost 15 billion lire.

Two pilot projects are also in preparation in cooperation with the Italian universities of Rome, Bari and Firenze; they involve the application of remote-sensing techniques to /agriculture/ and /hydrogeology./

In addition, Telespazio and CSATA [expansion unknown] have studied the simulation of images from foreign observation satellites (Landsat D, Spot), with a view to receiving these data at the Fucino station to supply Italian and European needs.

Remote-Sensing Station in Kenya

Since the project for an Italian San Marco/Scout launcher (based on the American Scout and with Italian powder-propellant boosters)—which had been suggested by Prof Luigi Broglio of Rome University CRA [expansion unknown]— has been

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abandoned, the use of the Kenya sea-base to launch Italian rockets is no longer contemplated. This decision was made a year ago by CIPE and has not been changed. /At present, there is no longer any project for the launching of rockets from the San Marco platform in Kenya./ The next Italian scientific satellite, the San Marco D realized by the CRA, will be launched in the United States by NASA. The credits initially allocated to the San Marco/Scout rocket project (17 billion lire) have been reallocated by CIPE to complete the San Marco D satellite, the second satellite of the initial series being abandoned. I

However, the Malindi (Kenya) station is expected to remain active, especially for the tracking of the equatorial satellites launched by NASA and ESA. But the space program also provides for the installation of a /station to receive images from foreign remote-sensing satellites/ at the request of Kenyan authorities. Credits amounting to 5 billion lire have theoretically been allocated to study the installation of such a station.

The stratospheric balloon launching station at Trapani-Milo (Sicily) will remain in operation; it will even be improved in prevision for the coming trans-Mediterranean balloon flight campaigns. These campaigns have been organized every year since 1975 as part of the French-Italian-Spanish cooperation; already 22 large-volume (up to 850,000 cubic meters) stratospheric balloons have been launched. Of the 9 billion lire provided under the program, 4 billion are earmarked for improvements to the station during 1982-83; the remainder is intended to cover operating costs (1 billion lire per year).

Scientific Experiments

In addition, the program allocates 30 billion lire for scientific experiments and 15 billion lire for technological research and development programs.

In the scientific field, Italy is developing /payloads for Spacelab/: microgravity experiments using a /fluid-state physics module/ developed by the Naples University for the first Spacelab flight scheduled for September 1983. Italy also has a participation in the new European scientific satellites, Exosat, Giotto, ISPM and Hipparcos, as well as in the operation of the Space Telescope—as a part of the European cooperation with the American Space Telescope Institute. The Italian industry also supplies stellar sensors for the French-Soviet Gamma project. For the time being, however, Italy is getting ready to operate the European /Sirio 2/ satellite, built from an Italian platform. Italian scientists are especially interested by the LASSO experiment for the laser synchronization of atomic clocks.

The research and development program is very traditional and coordinated with that of ESA; it is essentially centered on the development of new technologies in connection with structures, propulsion, heat monitoring, attitude monitoring and telecommunications systems for future satellites.

^{1.} See AIR ET COSMOS No 874.

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Finally, the space program allocates 8 billion lire to the study of /future projects/ such as orbital stations, large geostationary platforms, telecommunications satellite swarms and, more recently, telecommunications satellites to provide assistance to the victims of natural disasters.

An Italian Space Agency After 1983?

The project for the creation of an Italian space agency, which has been mentioned in Italy for over 15 years, has again been taken up by the Italian Minister in charge of Scientific and Technological Research Coordination, /Mr Giancarlo Tesini,/ at the opening ceremony of the 22nd International Scientific Convention on Space held in Rome on 25-26 March 1982.

Minister Tesini announced that a /bill would be submitted/ to the Italian parliament before the end of the year (next fall in principle); this bill would provide for the creation of a national space agency. This is the first time that a bill is filed in connection with this question. The minister also stated that, if everything goes well, /the Italian space agency could start operating after 1983,/ i.e. in approximately two years from now. However, industrial circles in Italy are very sceptical as to this possibility in view of the legal and administrative difficulties which would be raised by such a project (without a precedent in Italian affairs).

A project for an /Italian Space Organization (OSI)/ had already been prepared two years ago with the help of the industry. It provided for the creation of a loosely structured national space organization, like the one wished by Minister Tesini. The OSI would have included four departments (administration and finances, technical, planning and logistic support), each headed by a general director appointed by the Minister for Scientific Research (at the time). Among other things, this organization would have been entrusted with the management of current programs, the study of future projects, and the coordination of the activities of the CNR and the CRA, the two organizations which are now involved in space activities. The CNR manages national activities while the CRA is in charge of certain scientific programs.

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